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sia and the lesser German states, then to Spain and Portugal, then to England, where he follows events through the agitation for Catholic emancipation, Irish reforms, and the beginnings of agitation for electoral reform, to the death of George IV. and the close of the Parliamentary session of 1830, and finally to France through the reign of Charles X. to the signing of the ordinances of July. In the latter instance, notwithstanding the elaborate work done by Viel-Castel, Nettement and Duvergier de Hauranne, Stern has been able to correct many errors and to fill out many accounts with the aid of memoirs unknown to these writers, of documents from the Paris and London archives, and especially of the reports of Apponyi preserved in the archives of Vienna. An excellent instance of the value of this new material may be found in connection with the Algerian undertaking on page 376.

One word in conclusion may be said regarding what will be deemed the most important aspect, scientifically speaking, of this work. All other writers, who have discussed the diplomacy of the European governments during this period, such as Beer for Austria, Viel-Castel for France, Ringhoffer for Prussia, have studied the documents of their own particular states and have presented the subject from a peculiarly national point of view. Stern, on the other hand, like Demelitsch, has limited himself to the documents of no particular government. He has gathered his material from the archives of London, Vienna, Paris, Berlin, Frankfort-on-the-Main, and the Hague, and has made use of Martens's collection of treaties from the archives of the Russian Foreign Office. Thus his vantage-point is always European not national, and he never becomes a special pleader for the diplomacy of any special government or group of statesmen, as is, for example, Ringhoffer in his recent work on Prussia's foreign policy from 1820 to 1830. Perhaps most interesting of all is the fact that Dr. Stern has been allowed access, at last, to the masses of documents in the Public Record Office, London, the use of which was denied to Fyffe by Lord Granville, when the former was writing his history in the decade from 1880 to 1890. The permission thus accorded is to be extended to such documents as Dr. Stern may need for his next volume, which will carry the subject presumably to the year 1835.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Essai d'une Psychologie politique du Peuple Anglais au XIX^e Siècle,
Par ÉMILE BOUTMY. (Paris : Armand Colin. 1901. Pp. viii,
456.)

ADMIRERS of M. Boutmy will be disappointed in this work, for although there is much in it that is interesting, the theme is, on the whole less well thought out, and the argument is less cogent, than in his other books. There is, moreover, some tendency to exaggeration, or at least to the laying of undue stress on certain traits of national character.

The book is divided into five parts. The first of these is an attempt to explain the mental and moral characteristics of the English by the

climate of their country and the products of its soil. The dampness and darkness of the weather, as the author tells us, necessitate hard work for the preservation of life while the absence of extremes of temperature, and the richness of the soil in agricultural and mineral wealth, render labor exceedingly productive; the result being a great development of energy, foresight and self-control. In fact, activity and self-restraint are, in his opinion, the most marked elements in the British character. On the other hand, the heavy moist air causes a lack of sensibility; and the dull, misty prospect, the want of a clear, luminous atmosphere, deprives the Englishman of the sharp impressions, and consequently of the lively imagination of people of more southern climes. The mind is turned inward to brood upon itself and contemplate the moral relations of things, rather than the beauties of nature. Moreover the habit of constant activity interferes with the uninterrupted state of contemplation which is needed to evolve generalizations, and hence the English dislike and distrust abstract ideas, and have a limited capacity for producing them. The author proceeds to illustrate these mental and moral attributes of Englishmen from their language, literature, art, philosophy, science and religion.

An attempt to compass a theory of such magnitude in the few words of a short review must, of course, be unjust to the author; yet it may be that enough has been said to indicate the direction of his thought.

The second Part of the book deals with the races of which the population of the British Isles is composed. It begins with the Germanic tribes, and here M. Boutmy is struck, and, in fact, astounded, by finding more or less transformed, in contemporary English civilization, each of the traits depicted by Tacitus. But, if so, what becomes of his theory that those traits are due to the physical peculiarities of the British Isles? And, in passing, the comment may be made that if the mental and moral character of the English results from a damp climate, an even temperature, and a productive soil, one of the greatest race contrasts which this world can present ought in time to be found between the inhabitants of Old and New England.

After describing the results of the incursions of different races into Great Britain, M. Boutmy goes on to portray the effects produced by the economic and social changes that have supervened; and the reader recognizes here the mode of thought that gives so much value to the author's *Développement de la Constitution et de la Société politique en Angleterre*. Strangely enough, in speaking of the agricultural England of the later Middle Ages, the "merry England of the chroniclers," he says that nothing then gave an idea of the indefatigable activity of the English of our day. The Anglo-Saxons, he adds, who bore in their veins the blood of adventurers, came into possession of an extraordinarily fertile land, and succumbed at last to the temptations of a quiet life and easy wealth. But this, again, is hardly consistent with the theory of the earlier portion of the book. He there attributed the character of modern England to the climate and the soil. He now derives it from en-

tirely different sources, namely, the discovery of America, and the religious revivals of the Puritans and of Wesley.

The last three Parts of the work, forming about two-thirds of its pages, are devoted to an examination of the political psychology of the people at the present day. In general, his estimate of Englishmen does not differ essentially from that commonly accepted in France. He finds them highly individualistic, somewhat brutal, unsociable, lacking in sympathy, and among the uneducated masses stupid ; but, on the other hand, from their very lack of sympathy, frank to the degree that reaches nobility of character, energetic from the need of activity, and conservative from their dislike of abstract ideas. It may seem hard to reconcile the want of sociability with the undoubted great capacity of the English people for collective action, but the author overcomes the difficulty by ascribing the latter quality to the Englishman's pleasure in feeling himself connected with a powerful movement, a feeling which gratifies his craving for activity. It may be observed that some of the best political traits of the people are attributed ultimately to mental limitations ; and in fact one derives from the book the impression that, except for this quality of energy, which partakes of the nature of virtue, the capacity of the Englishman for self-government is due rather to defects than to positive virtues.

The book goes on to treat of the political psychology of the Englishman of to-day in his various relations, as a citizen, as a party man, as a statesman. He discusses the nature of English law, and the way it is regarded by the courts and the public ; the Crown and the reasons for its continued hold on the sentiment of the nation. Finally, Part V. describes the position of the individual, the family, the classes and religious sects ; and ends with a couple of essays (which have already appeared in the *Annales des Sciences Politiques*) upon the functions of the state in its dealings with its own citizens, and with foreign nations.

M. Boutmy is always keen, interesting and suggestive, even when his generalizations do not carry entire conviction to the reader. But in this brief review there is room to mention only one or two of his more striking comments on English public life. One of these relates to the nature of the political parties. He notes the lack of abstract theories, or general doctrines, as the basis of party division, and the ease with which the parties change their position on questions of the day ; he points out the large proportion of leading statesmen in the nineteenth century who, in the course of their public career, changed either their principles or their party. At the same time he observes the absence of independents, the fact that everyone belongs to some party, and the permanence of parties themselves. All this he explains by means of his analysis of the British political character, and especially the weakness of the power of generalization, and the necessity of a vent for activity. He sums up the whole situation in a single sentence. In substance, he says, the parties resemble much less two groups of believers who are trying to make their doctrines prevail, than two groups of combatants who are fighting

for a battle-field, and who inscribe devices on their flags in order to be recognized. This sentence touches a real and vital distinction between the parties in Anglo-Saxon and in Latin countries ; and yet, of course, it is the picture of English parties drawn by a Frenchman, and, no doubt, an Englishman would express the contrast somewhat differently.

Another matter which M. Boutmy brings out very clearly is the relation of the state in England to the liberty of the individual. After pointing out the early period at which the power of the state became established in England, he describes how that state has been in the habit of leaving in the charge of individuals such matters as they were willing to attend to, whether of a public or a private nature. The line between the authority of the state and the liberty of the individual is a question not of right but of fact, and is drawn from time to time not according to abstract principles, but according to reasons of expediency. Hence, while England is the country where the action of the state is habitually the most restricted, it is the one where public motives, when brought into play, meet with the least resistance ; and thus state interference with personal liberty is at times more radical and more drastic than elsewhere. This he illustrates by references to the impressment of seamen, the laws of public health, land legislation in Ireland, and other matters. He believes that the energy and activity of her people will always prevent state interference from becoming as universal in England as in France ; but that if these great qualities of the English character were to become enfeebled England would be less well protected against the exaggerations of state socialism than France with her deep-rooted faith in the abstract rights of individuals.

The book, if superficial in parts, is, as a whole, interesting and suggestive ; but it can hardly be regarded as a thorough systematic treatise on the subject with which it deals.

A. L. LOWELL.

Histoire de la Civilisation Contemporaine en France. Par ALFRED RAMBAUD. Sixth Edition. (Paris : Armand Colin. 1901. Pp. xii, 836.)

THE book, the title of which stands at the head of this review, is not, in appearance at least, a new book. It purports to be simply the sixth edition of a work first placed before the public more than twelve years ago. Between it, however, and its former editions, the differences are so numerous and of such importance that it is entitled to supersede them entirely. Not only does it contain a number of new chapters, or of additions to chapters that existed formerly, but it is safe to say that hardly any page in the work has passed from the earlier to the new edition without undergoing some change.

As it is now the work consists of three books, divided into thirty-four chapters. These thirty-four chapters contain the history of French civilization from the beginning of the French Revolution to the end of